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RAYADO: PIONEER SETTLEMENT

IN NORTHEASTERN NEW MEXICO, 1848-1857

LAWRENCE R. MURPHY

THE ESTABLISHMENT of a permanent settlement at Rayado on the edge of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains in what is now Colfax County, New Mexico, marked a significant step in the American occupation of the Southwest. Spanish soldiers who explored the region in the early 1700's talked for a time of establishing a presidio at La Jicarilla, near the present village of Cimarron. These plans were quickly abandoned, and for a century the area remained in the sole possession of the Ute, Apache, and Comanche. Later, Santa Fe bound caravans frequently crossed through the region, but no one wished to stay. In 1841, New Mexico Governor Manuel Armijo granted a huge tract of land in the area to Carlos Beaubien and Guadalupe Miranda. Their efforts to begin farming along the Vermejo, Ponil, Cimarron, and Cimarroncito creeks met with little success. When United States troops marched toward Santa Fe in 1846, only a few small herds of cattle watched over by Mexican herdsmen grazed the rich grass of northeastern New Mexico.

Beaubien, who had assumed full control over the grant when his partner fled to Mexico with Armijo, persisted in his plans to develop the property. Originally he hoped that his son Narciso and Charles Bent would supervise the settlement, but their deaths in the Taos uprising forced a change of plans. He then turned to thirty-year-old Lucien B. Maxwell, whose name would become more indelibly associated with the area than his own. Maxwell spent his early life in Illinois and Missouri, where he was raised by his grandfather and two aunts. He joined John C. Fremont's first western expedition, as a hunter, met Kit Carson, and became his
friend. An uncle, Ceran St. Vrain, evidently took him to Taos, where he was introduced to Beaubien and his eldest daughter Luz, whom he married in June 1844. Subsequently, Maxwell worked for his father-in-law, delivering messages and transporting goods from Bent's Fort to Taos.4

Early in 1848 Beaubien decided to try once more to establish a lasting foothold on the eastern side of the Sangre de Cristos. He selected the fertile, well-watered valley of Rayado Creek, near the southern edge of his land grant and not far from the spot where the Taos Trail left the main Santa Fe road. Few documents from the period have survived, and many of them are contradictory, but a survey of the available materials indicates the following probable sequence of events.

Calvin Jones, a long-time employee at Rayado, testified many years later that Maxwell left Taos in February 1848. A small band of men including Tim Goodale, Manuel LeFavre, and a carpenter named James White accompanied him. A pack train of mules carried their supplies.5 Why they set out in mid-winter is difficult to understand. It may have been that Maxwell wished to sell mounts and supplies to William Gilpin, who was camped on the Mora that winter.6 Whatever their reasons, the venture proved disastrous, for a snow storm caught the men in the mountains, delaying them for several days and resulting in the loss of one mule. Eventually they struggled onto the plains and selected the location for their new settlement. No sooner had temporary log quarters been erected than most of the men began felling timber and sawing it into boards for more permanent buildings. By spring, when Jones arrived with a herd of cattle from Bent's Fort, enough lumber was on hand for three or four rooms.7

Not everything needed to start a frontier settlement could be had locally, so at the first hint of spring Maxwell left for Kansas with some of the men to buy supplies. Perhaps they also hoped to return some of the horses furnished Gilpin.8 Quickly completing business affairs in the east, the Rayado manager left Council Grove late in May with Santa Fe merchant Preston Beck, mountaineer
Tom Boggs, and others. The group made a short stop at Bent's Fort before they headed south into New Mexico. On June 12, while the party was in the Raton Mountains, a band of Jicarilla Apache attacked Maxwell’s pack train, driving off thirty mules and fifty horses; the loss, including six hundred deerskins, amounted to $7,200.

Although the loss of these supplies was serious, the worst of Maxwell’s difficulties had yet to occur. Regrouping along the Greenhorn and later at Bent’s Fort, they decided to cross the mountains through Manco Burro Pass near the present New Mexico-Colorado boundary. Three days later they had camped for the night and were eating dinner when a large body of Indians, apparently Ute, surrounded their camp and began firing. Several men, including Maxwell, received serious wounds. Most eventually escaped into the woods and slowly made their way back to Taos. Two were so badly wounded they could not move and had to be left to the “mercy of the Indians.” A third man who fell back during the trek almost met the same fate, but he finally recovered. The Indians also captured two children, who were ransomed after three months in captivity.

Besides demonstrating how perilous life on the New Mexico frontier could be, the Manco Burro tragedy seriously jeopardized the existence of Rayado. Maxwell, whose leadership was vital to the settlement’s success, had a bullet lodged deep in his neck. He rushed to the nearest physician in Santa Fe, where the ball was cut out in an “extremely difficult and painful” operation. Not for many months would he recover sufficiently to take an active role at Rayado. Moreover, supplies from the east could not be obtained for another year; money to buy goods and employ laborers had been considerably reduced by the loss of the first train. Maxwell was so poor by this time that, according to one somewhat suspect source, he had to borrow $1,000 from his friend Carson to meet expenses. Despite all these difficulties, Maxwell was able to sell enough hay to the army and supplies to travelers on the Santa Fe Trail to assure the continuation of the Rayado project. In January 1849
John C. Fremont wrote his wife from Taos that Maxwell was “at his father-in-law’s doing a very prosperous business as a merchant and contractor for the troops.”

Meanwhile in Taos, Carson had been debating his future plans. On one hand Fremont suggested that he accompany him to California and eventually settle there. But Kit was reluctant, as Fremont put it, to “break off from Maxwell and family connections.” During the early spring he decided to decline Fremont’s offer and stay in New Mexico. “In April,” Carson recorded in his autobiography,

Maxwell and I concluded to make a settlement on the Rayado. We had been leading a roving life long enough and now was the time, if ever, to make a home for ourselves and children. We were getting old and could not expect to remain any length of time able to gain a livelihood as we had been for such a number of years.

At Maxwell’s settlement Carson immediately began “building and making improvements.” Soon, he recalled, we “were in a way of becoming prosperous.”

Actually Carson was only the most famous of many New Mexicans who moved across the mountains in 1849. Most were Spanish-Americans, but there were a few Indian slaves (mostly Navajo) and some Anglo-Americans. By summer, forty or fifty men were busy pulling in timber from the nearby mountains and whipsawing it into lumber. Others were occupied mowing the tall grass sold to the government as fodder. Increasing numbers of sheep, horses, mules, and cattle grazed on the surrounding pastures and meadows. Four farmers arrived that second spring to begin tilling the virgin soil and building ditches to carry water into their fields. Fifteen more families joined them the next season. Rather than sell land, Beaubien and Maxwell apparently arranged a system of shares whereby they and the farmers split whatever was produced.

The first description of Maxwell’s settlement came when Charles E. Pancoast, a Pennsylvanian headed for the California goldfields, visited “Riadjo” in July 1849. Like many other Amer-
icans, Pancoast was so overwhelmed by Carson that his whole report centered on the “famous mountaineer.” He reported that the ranch was not at all “stylish.” The central structure was a two-storied log cabin; several smaller adobe huts adjoined it. High walls surrounding the entire complex protected it from Indian attack. Other adobe buildings outside the compound served as corrals, stables, and slaughter houses. A “dozen or more Americans and Mexicans” in addition to twenty Indian men and some squaws lived at the settlement.

At first Carson had little to say to his visitors, but as the evening wore on and the glow of the campfire deepened, he began to tell stories of his long career and more recent difficulties in protecting the Rayado settlement from the Ute and Apache. Sometimes it was necessary to summon the army, but Kit led his listeners to believe that he had “pursued them so severely that they found it their best policy to make their peace with him.” Visiting Indians were always treated kindly and given food. Yet even Carson was not wholly convinced of the natives’ friendliness, for he still guarded the livestock day and night. Pancoast and the others were so enthralled with Carson’s stories and the battle wounds he displayed that it was eleven o’clock before they all retired for the night.
If Carson honestly believed that the Indians along New Mexico's northeastern frontier could be so easily pacified, his optimism did not last long. In October 1849, only three months after Pancoast's visit, Indians attacked the J. M. White party along the Santa Fe Trail some eighty miles east of Rayado. Mr. White and five or six others died in the battle, while his wife and small daughter were apparently captured by Apache. New Mexico Indian Superintendent James S. Calhoun took immediate steps to recover the two. A $1,000 reward was offered for their return. Captain (Brevet Major) William S. Grier and a company of dragoons set out from Taos to pursue the raiders. When the troops reached Rayado, Carson joined them.

For almost two weeks the soldiers followed Indian trails across the barren plains of northeastern New Mexico. At last they sighted the camp of what were presumed to be the guilty Apache. The troops halted to prepare for a parley, giving the Indians time to begin packing and preparing for battle. Suddenly a bullet hit Grier, miraculously embedding itself in his coat so that he suffered only surface injury. In the confusion the natives rode away with the loss of only one warrior. In the debris left behind Carson and the others found the body of Mrs. White. Nearby lay a popular novel extolling the heroism of Carson, who at least this time had failed in his mission. No trace of the child was ever found. 19

The White massacre fully convinced United States officials of the need to station troops along the frontier. If Grier and his men had been nearer the scene of attack, they could have saved a great deal of time and perhaps have rescued Mrs. White and her daughter. Rayado was the logical site for the army to stay. No doubt encouraged by Beaubien, Maxwell, and Carson, the commanding officer agreed to station ten mounted dragoons under Sergeant William C. "Leigh" Holbrook at the frontier settlement.20 Their presence contributed much to the pacification of the area.

During the winter cold and snow apparently restrained the Apache, but peace suddenly ended on April 5, 1850. They attacked a vulnerable outpost three miles from Rayado where horses and mules were grazing. Two of Maxwell's Spanish-American
herders received wounds, while nearly all the riding stock in the area was driven off. No sooner had daylight come the next morning than Holbrook and his troops, accompanied by Carson, galloped off in pursuit of the enemy. Twenty miles from Rayado they sighted the raiders. “We approached the Indians cautiously,” Carson reported, “and when close, charged them.” Five Apache were killed and one or two others wounded. The only American loss was one horse shot out from under Private Richart. The successful soldiers returned to Rayado with all but four of the stolen animals. They carried five Indian scalps as gruesome trophies of their victory. “I regard the affair as a very handsome one,” wrote Captain Grier, “and very creditable to the sergeant and his men.”

The proven ability of the army in subduing the Apache and protecting the settlement at Rayado persuaded military officials to establish a permanent station on the Beaubien grant. Necessary orders having been issued on May 24, 1850, Grier reached the new “Post at Rayado” with 43 men from Companies G and I of the 1st Dragoons. Forty-five horses gave them needed mobility to pursue hostile Indians. Each soldier carried a carbine, while the detachment also had a six-pound cannon and a mountain howitzer. At first the troops lived in tents, apparently located along the Rayado east of the main complex. Maxwell soon agreed to quarter them in the building under construction as his residence. The officers had already moved in by early fall, and it was expected that the enlisted men would join them shortly.

In addition to providing protection, the military post also added appreciably to the revenue at Rayado. At first Maxwell agreed to rent quarters and stables for $2,400 per year, but soon the price rose to $3,400. Many supplies were also purchased locally. For example the army contracted in 1850 to buy an unspecified amount of hay for $20 per ton; the following year, it decided that Rayado was the best location to graze all the surplus government stock in the territory. As a result purchases totalled six hundred tons, with the price increased to $30. Wheat had been planted on most of the irrigated land, so corn had to be purchased in Taos at a cost of $2 per bushel. The quartermaster thought that if orders
were placed early enough, grain could be grown at Rayado, thus increasing the quantity available and lowering the price. Apparently this did not happen, for the next year grain still had to be secured in Taos and packed forty miles across the mountains. The cost rose by fifty cents a bushel. The military also provided employment for five civilians, three as herders and two as teamsters. An inspector visiting the post a year after its founding suggested that although the location seemed wise from a military standpoint, it was "somewhat expensive" to maintain. 24

That such large expenditures were justifiable became increasingly evident during the summer and fall of 1850. Within a few weeks after the post was established, Indians variously described as Ute or Apache once again attacked. On June 26 they drove off a large herd of Maxwell's livestock grazing almost within sight of the main buildings. Six horses, four mules, and 175 head of cattle valued at more than $5,000 were lost. 25 In addition, an army bugler who had left camp unarmed was found dead, together with a civilian, 26 probably the "brave and experienced" trapper, William New. 27 Such a daring raid convinced many New Mexicans that the small, ineffective forays against the Apache must end. Instead, a group of citizens including Maxwell, Beaubien, and Carson, petitioned Governor John Munroe for a full-scale expedition to end the Indian menace forever. 28

The governor responded favorably. By late July 1850, one of the largest Indian campaigns carried out in northern New Mexico left Rayado. Brevet Major Grier commanded the two companies already stationed at Rayado, plus Company K of the Second Dragoons sent from Las Vegas. 29 In addition, Munroe authorized the use of ninety civilians from "Loda Mora" with officers of their own choosing. The entire party, totaling over 150 men, headed north along the Sangre de Cristos to the Vermejo River, then moved westward into the mountains, where they sighted an Apache trail. Late one night Lieutenant Adams attacked a small band of Indians, killing or wounding all of them and capturing their animals. An advance party of Spanish-Americans sighted and attacked another camp that same night. The next day the main
body was at last spotted “on the edge of a mountain, in a thick and almost impenetrable growth of aspens.” The surrounding area was so marshy and full of springs that mounting an attack would be difficult. Before the troops could be brought into position, the Apache sensed their presence, hurriedly abandoned camp, and fled higher into the mountains. Pursuit proved fruitless, although five or six Indian casualties were counted. One soldier, Sergeant Lewis V. Guthrie, who received a mortal wound during the fray, died the next day. Even though the Apache had not been dealt the blow many New Mexicans hoped for, the expedition did recover many horses, sheep, mules, and cattle stolen from Rayado and other settlements. Grier’s superiors must have been satisfied with these results, for soon after the soldiers returned, their commander received orders to plan to remain at Maxwell’s ranch for a year. The army had come to the eastern side of the Sangre de Cristos to stay.

In addition to pursuing Apache through the mountains, Grier had other more mundane but (at least by army standards) equally important concerns during late summer. An army inspector would soon visit his command. The soldiers devoted much time to cleaning guns, practicing maneuvers, and straightening up quarters for the arrival of Inspector General George A. McCall on September 16. McCall commented very favorably on what he found. Special praise went to Grier, who appeared “to have discharged his duties with zeal and ability.” The post itself presented a pleasing appearance, especially in light of the short time since it had been established. But for an officer who equated spit and polish with efficiency and effectiveness, the troops presented a very sad appearance. No new clothing had been issued for several months, so that many of the uniforms did “not conform to regulations.” Probably because they had just opened a new post on the frontier and carried out a series of campaigns against hostile Indians, the soldiers had devoted insufficient time to perfecting their formal drill. Marching techniques were, the inspector reported, “by no means perfect.” In a classic understatement McCall described the men’s appearance as “becoming hard service rather than parade duty.”
Grier must have taken such criticism seriously, for as soon as McCall left the soldiers began devoting more of their time to drill. A new private, James A. Bennett, who transferred to Rayado late in October 1850, expressed surprise that a frontier commander put so much emphasis on the “cleaning of arms, brushing of clothes, grooming of horses [and] burnishing of leather.” No sooner had he arrived than Grier scheduled a full-dress review for 8:00 in the morning. Each new arrival answered to his name, after which the entire command paraded for an hour. Then Grier, who reminded Bennett of “a fatherly old man who was designed for a Methodist minister but whose patriotic spirit exceeded his religious zeal,” delivered a long lecture. Thereafter, the men spent two hours every day practicing their horsemanship by riding around in a circle “at all gaits, without stirrups.” Not until snow started falling in mid-November did the routine change. The men hoped that during the winter they could spend more time in their quarters. Bennett planned to learn Spanish. 33

Such was not to be the case, however, for the coming of winter only increased the difficulties along New Mexico’s northeastern frontier. When the eastern mail reached the area, for example, an escort from Rayado rode into two feet of snow to accompany it to Santa Fe. Similarly, the soldiers guided the army paymaster and his wagon train across the Raton Mountains in January 1851. Heavy snows made it almost impossible to pull the cumbersome wagons over the pass, but after several days, the cold, tired troops reached the summit and sent the paymaster into Colorado. Bennett complained about his conditions: “work hard all day in the snow; at night make a bed on a bank that would bury a man.” And no time to learn Spanish! The return trip almost ended in tragedy when the soldiers decided to try a new route back to Rayado and became lost in a storm. By the time their guide found some trees in which to seek shelter, twenty men were so cold that they needed help in dismounting. A week after returning to the warmth of their quarters, the men faced still another dangerous trip across the mountains to take Dr. David Magruder to Taos. 34
In between escort duties, the soldiers also defended the settlements along the Sangre de Cristos. The coming of winter drew large numbers of wolves out of the mountains to attack livestock belonging to Maxwell and others. Frequently the troops pursued packs of as many as two hundred of these hungry beasts. Nor did the cold weather totally eliminate the Indian menace. Late in November a herder reported that four hundred head of cattle had been driven off. Carson, who spent most of the winter at Rayado, led the soldiers seventy miles in pursuit. When they found the Indian camp and the stolen cows, baskets filled with milk hung in nearby trees. Bennett was convinced that the Apache were going “into the darying business pretty largely.” In the brief battle that followed, seven Indians were killed and one child taken captive. All the livestock was recovered and returned to its owner.

Despite the difficulties of winter duty in northeastern New Mexico, the troops did not spend every day working. March 10 the paymaster arrived at Rayado, providing the men with money for the first time in months. A celebration quickly developed; soon an all-night card game had commenced in the enlisted men’s quarters. “Money exchanged hands as fast as possible,” Bennett recalled. The winners exhibited a peculiarly “fiendish smile,” while anyone who lost cursed “himself, his parents, and his God for his evil fortune.” By morning every man had lost a night of sleep and many were missing several months’ pay.

Two events during the spring forecast changes in the military posture in northern New Mexico. Early in April, Grier, who had commanded at Rayado since the post was founded, relinquished command to Captain Richard Stoddard Ewell, who had been on detached service in Virginia. Ewell, who joined the Confederate forces during the Civil War and became known as one of the South’s most effective commanders, was much less willing to guard a minor frontier settlement than had been his predecessor. He may well have questioned the need for continuing the post. Such thoughts may also have occurred to his superiors as evidence grew of poor morale among the troops at Rayado. By early spring seven
privates and two enlisted men had been imprisoned; two others had deserted. The exact details of the difficulties are unknown, but when a general court martial convened at Rayado in April, five of the men were ordered discharged. Whatever the reason, such a high percentage of troublesome soldiers required some consideration.

Perhaps as a result of these events, as well as the high cost of maintaining troops at Maxwell's and the inability of the military to win a decisive victory against the Indians, the army began to investigate the desirability of discontinuing the post. On March 12, 1851, Lieutenant John G. Parke, later famed for his surveys of railroad routes across southern Arizona, was ordered to "make a particular examination" of the Rayado area to determine if it was the best site to station soldiers. He was to take into consideration the available supplies of wood and water as well as the area's capacity for farming and grazing livestock. Most important, he was to evaluate the military advantages of the location, for his superiors wanted to be certain that soldiers there could operate "over the greatest area of country & on the essential points in the most prudent and effective manner."

Parke's report, submitted in mid-April 1851, dealt a blow to Post Rayado which hostile natives and inclement weather had failed to strike. He was particularly concerned that the post was presently located in an area between the mountains and the plains where mesas of varying elevations surrounded it on all sides. Trees and scrubby brush provided excellent cover for Indians approaching the area. A surprise attack would be difficult to detect. Moreover, the garrison had an "extremely limited view" of the surrounding countryside. For these reasons Parke felt that it was militarily inadvisable to continue the post at its current location. Instead, he recommended a site between the Cimarron and Ponil creeks ten miles to the north.

Parke completed his report just as Colonel E. V. Sumner arrived in New Mexico to take command of the Ninth Military Department. Rather than spread his forces out among a number of small posts, he decided to consolidate men and reduce costs by locating
one large fort on the Mora River thirty miles south of Rayado. In mid-May 1851 part of the Rayado detachment went to the new location to begin building Fort Union. Two months later, on July 25, Sumner ordered the post at Rayado broken up. Ewell’s men should move immediately to Fort Union with all public property. Maxwell pleaded that since he had agreed to accompany Major John Pope to lay out a new trail to Fort Leavenworth, the military ought to provide some protection for his settlement. Sumner did agree to station fifteen men at Rayado if Maxwell would provide them with free quarters and stabling, but no arrangement could apparently be worked out. On August 31 the post was abandoned.

The increasingly secure status of the Rayado settlement was evidenced by the willingness of both Maxwell and Carson to leave the area for long periods. During much of the summer of 1851 the two men headed a party of eighteen trappers who went to Colorado and Wyoming. Two years later Carson purchased 6,500 head of sheep which he drove to California. Maxwell followed close behind with a second herd. The pair met in San Francisco, returning to New Mexico by Christmas 1853. Thereafter Carson moved back to Taos, where the government employed him as agent to the Ute and Apache.

Especially when the men were gone, the village along the Rayado was still vulnerable to Indian attack. On one occasion a German boy sent to get water from the creek for breakfast ran in screaming that he had seen Indians. Soon a large Cheyenne war party appeared at the gate demanding food. Mountaineer Tom Boggs, who was staying at the ranch recommended that rather than try to fight off the Indians, the residents should feed them while one man rode to Fort Union for troops. Teresina Bent recalled what followed:

So we women all set to work cooking—coffee and meat and whatever else we had. I was twelve years old, and the chief of the war party saw me and wanted to buy me to make me his wife. He kept offering horses—ten, fifteen, twenty horses. Mr. Boggs said for us to act friendly with the Indians and not make the chief angry. My, I was so
frightened! And while I carried platters of food from the kitchen, the tears were running down my cheeks. That made the chief laugh. He was bound to buy me, and when they all got through eating he said that they would wait; if I was not delivered to him by the time the sun touched a hill there in the west he would take me by force.

The Cheyenne camped just outside the compound awaiting the setting sun. Within the adobe walls, the little girl helped the women carry bullets to the few men who were present. Just as the moment of attack neared, Carson and a company of soldiers rode dramatically up the road from Fort Union. The Indians fled before them. "I was so glad," remembered Teresina; "I did not want to go with the dirty chief."48

A similar story, perhaps legendary, involved Vidal Trujillo, who had married Beaubien's daughter Leonora and was also living at Rayado. One morning a small party of Apache appeared on a hill north of Rayado. Two men who went to see what they wanted were fired upon and fled to the safety of the compound. Suddenly six hundred warriors topped the hill. Conditions were critical since most of the men had left, and ammunition was scarce. Someone would have to ride to Fort Union for the soldiers. Vidal Trujillo volunteered. The mount he chose was Rayado, a fine race horse named for the ranch. The great gate flew open and out sped horse and rider:

Like a thunderbolt the big chesnut horse shot into the midst of the circling savages. Crouched low over his withers, Vidal, a professional jockey, guided him through the savages in the greatest race of his career. So unexpected the act, and so complete the surprise, the flying rider was through the line before the Indians knew what was happening. . . . Fate rode with Vidal Trujillo that day. Miraculously he escaped their missles, and by virtue of the great horse under him, outran them.

Never daring to spare his animal, Trujillo pushed on as rapidly as possible. When he reached Fort Union, Rayado fell dead beneath
him. The soldiers immediately departed for the north, but when they reached the settlement, the Indians had given up their siege and fled. Once more Rayado was secure.49

In April of 1854, however, many New Mexicans thought that the Indians had at last succeeded in overpowering the residents of Rayado. A report reached Santa Fe that Apache had attacked the ranch and killed all of its inhabitants. Eight women, ten men including Maxwell, and two or three children were dead.50

No such massacre actually occurred, but Carson, fearful that one might take place at any moment, appealed for troops. Addressing acting territorial Governor William S. Messervy in June, he reported that more than $100,000 in livestock was on the Rayado. Moving them to a more secure location was impossible because of a shortage of grass; many residents of the village would lose everything if they were forced to leave. Already large bands of Indians had menaced the area. He warned that further trouble was likely unless government forces were sent soon. At the same time these soldiers could provide needed protection for the mail route across the plains and the Bent's Fort road from Raton Pass.51

Carson's appeal brought quick action from army officials in New Mexico. On July 16, 1854, Lieutenant J. W. Davidson established temporary camp at Rayado with sixty-one men from the First Dragoons. Apparently no major attack occurred, and the army was not convinced of the continuing need for troops in the area. On September 6 orders were issued to abandon the camp. On the 18th the troops left.52

Principally because of the continuing support of the United States army and the perseverance of the early settlers, Rayado had become well established by the mid-1850's. Maxwell had erected a large complex including living quarters, storage, and work rooms, surrounded by a protective wall.53 Other buildings increased the total value of his improvements to an estimated $15,000. Some two hundred acres of land had been put under cultivation. Fifteen thousand head of livestock grazed along the Sangre de Cristos.54 Occasionally Indians still raided the area,55 but no tribe could
mount an offensive sufficient to drive out the settlers. More farmers and ranchers continually arrived, until eventually all of northeastern New Mexico had been settled.

Rayado's position as the major settlement on the Beaubien grant was short-lasting. In 1857 Maxwell decided to move his residence to the banks of the Cimarron River, near the location which Parke had recommended for an army post. His ranch there grew and prospered, especially after the government located the Ute and Apache Indian agency there in 1861. Rayado, first operated by José Pley and later by another Beaubien son-in-law, Jesús G. Abreu, diminished in importance. Today several of the buildings erected during the early 1850's remain, but fewer than a dozen people call Rayado home. Only a nearby museum maintained by the Philmont Scout Ranch reminds visitors of the historic importance of the settlement beside the Rayado.
NOTES


3. For vivid descriptions of the area during the Mexican War, see Lewis H. Garrard, Wah-to-yah and the Taos Trail (Norman, 1955), pp. 144-49, 230-32.


5. Testimony of Calvin Jones in Transcript of Record, U.S. vs. Maxwell Land Grant Co., et al., Supreme Court of the United States, October term, 1886, no. 974, p. 72, in Record Group 267, National Archives. (Hereinafter cited as Maxwell case Transcript.) The exact date of the establishment of Rayado is extremely uncertain. For further, often contradictory, evidence, see: Transcript of Title of the Maxwell Land Grant (Chicago, 1881), and Transcript of Record of Charles Bent, et al. vs. Guadalupe Miranda et al. (Santa Fe, 1894). (Hereinafter cited as Bent case Transcript.) Among major secondary works dealing with the subject are W. A. Kelcher, The Maxwell Land Grant: A New Mexico Item (Santa Fe, 1942, reprinted New York, 1964), p. 29; F. Stanley, The Grant that Maxwell Bought (Denver, 1952), pp. 21-22; Jim B. Pearson, The Maxwell Land Grant (Norman, 1961), p. 11; and Edwin L. Sabin, Kit Carson Days, 2 vols. (New York, 1935), vol. 2, pp. 616-18.


Doc. 55, 35th Cong., 1 sess., p. 11. (Hereinafter cited as Claims for Depredations by Indians.)
11. Lecompte, pp. 311-14. Another account, differing considerably in detail, is in Howard Conard, "Uncle Dick" Wootton (Chicago, 1890), pp. 214-17.
12. Santa Fe Republican, July 8, 19, 1848, p. 3.
13. Interview with Jesse Nelson, July 9, 1908, Notebook VIII, p. 6, F. W. Cragin papers, Pioneers' Museum, Colorado Springs. Nelson also recalled that the army supply agent "gave Maxwell a lift by giving him double (100% profit) on forage" for Fort Union. Since that post would not be established until 1851, the entire story is suspect. Carter, "Lucien Maxwell," p. 303, accepts its accuracy.
17. Testimony of William A. Bransford, Faustin Jaramillo, and Calvin Jones, Maxwell Case Transcript, pp. 59, 62, 72; also the Jones testimony in Bent case Transcript, pp. 155-56.
22. Return of Troops at Rayado, N.M., May 1850, in Records of the Office of the Adjutant General, R. G. 94, National Archives. (Hereinafter
cited as Rayado Post Returns.) From a contemporary newspaper account describing Maxwell's house as a "quazi fort," several amateur historians have named the post at Rayado Fort Quazi! The most recent example is in Tom Hilton, Nevermore, Cimarron, Nevermore (Fort Worth, 1970), p. 13.


26. Calhoun to Brown, Santa Fe, July 15, 1850, in Abel, Official Correspondence of James S. Calhoun, pp. 216-17, and Return of Troops at Rayado, N. M., June 1850, Rayado Post Returns.


29. Return of Troops at Rayado, N. M., July 1850, Rayado Post Returns.


31. McCall, New Mexico in 1850, p. 146.

32. The full report is in ibid., pp. 145-53.


34. Ibid., pp. 17-18, 21-22.

35. Ibid., p. 18.

36. Ibid., pp. 22-23.

37. Return of Troops at Rayado, N. M., April, 1851, Rayado Post Returns.

38. Return of Troops at Rayado, N. M., May 1851, ibid.


40. Parke to Laws, April 14, 1851, in Letters Received, 9th Military Department, R. G. 94, National Archives.


42. Order No. 19, July 25, 1851, 9th Military Department Orders,


46. Ibid., pp. 132-33. Also see the Placerville Herald, July 2, 1853, p. 1, and the *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, December 31, 1853, p. 2.


49. J. Ralph Gett, "The Rayado Ranch," *Western Empire: The Development Magazine*, pp. 10-11, undated copy in the Western History Department, Denver Public Library.


51. Carson to Messervy, Fernando de Taos, June 25, 1854, in Records of the New Mexico Superintendency of Indian Affairs, R.G. 75, National Archives.

52. Return of Troops at Rayado, N. M., July and August 1854, Rayado Post Returns.


54. Testimony of Carson, July 28, 1857, in *Transcript of Title*, p. 23.

55. For example, see Carson to S. M. Yost, Taos, January 5, 1858, and to James L. Collins, Taos, February 23, 1859, in Records of the New Mexico Superintendency.

56. Apparently Pley operated the ranch from the time of Maxwell's departure until February 1860, when he returned to his home in Spain. An agreement between Pley and Abreu dated February 22, 1860, transferring the property, is in the collection of Harry G. McGavran, Jr., Los Alamos, New Mexico.